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SUMMER 1960

THE S  
CALL

# LET MAN PREVAIL

A Socialist Manifesto and Program

Erich Fromm

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Number 2

## LET MAN PREVAIL A Socialist Manifesto and Program

Erich Fromm



## A NEW SOCIALIST MANIFESTO

*In continuing to present the outstanding contributions to "new thoughts" in socialist philosophy, the Socialist Call devotes this entire issue to Dr. Erich Fromm's "Socialist Manifesto and Program," which is at once a restatement of socialist principles and a suggested program for the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.*

*As such, this document by Dr. Fromm, the noted author of such highly-praised works as *Escape from Freedom* and *The Sane Society*, makes a most provocative—and possibly controversial—appeal, giving it unique status in the current world-wide discussion among socialists. Where other documents have either been rephrasings of theoretical formulations or proposals for adoption by Socialist Parties in election campaigns, Dr. Fromm's discussion combines an historical-theoretical analysis with a detailed presentation of an intermediate program offered for acceptance by the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, its friends and sympathizers.*

*In his books and lectures, Dr. Fromm has placed the socio-psychological needs of man to the forefront, asserting that the Marxian concept of alienation, deriving from the failure of workers to realize inner satisfaction in an industrialized society, can be one of the major keys to social change in our time.*

*Dr. Fromm's boldness and imaginativeness in the fields of psychiatry and psychology have made a significant impact on the intellectual thought of our period. Dr. Fromm, recently elected to the National Committee of the SP-SDF, presents a number of distinctive proposals for consideration by socialists in this paper. He has thereby opened a new era of discussion for socialists presently engaged in revising socialist doctrine so as to make it more meaningful for our time.*

THE EDITORS, SOCIALIST CALL

# LET MAN PREVAIL

## A Socialist Manifesto and Program

Erich Fromm

### I.

#### THE QUESTION

**W**HEN THE MEDIEVAL world was torn wide open, Western man seemed to be headed for the final fulfillment of his keenest dreams and visions. He freed himself from the authority of a totalitarian church, the weight of traditional thought, the geographical limitations of our but half-discovered globe. He discovered nature and the individual. He became aware of his own strength, of his capacity to make himself the ruler over nature and over traditionally given circumstances. He believed that he would be capable of achieving a synthesis between his newborn sense of strength and rationality and the spiritual values of his humanistic-spiritual tradition; between the prophetic idea of the messianic time of peace and justice to be achieved by mankind in the historical process, and the Greek tradition of theoretical thought. In the centuries following the Renaissance and the Reformation he built a new science which eventually has led to the release of hitherto unheard-of productive powers, and to the complete transformation of the material world. He created political systems which seem to guarantee the free and productive development of the individual; he reduced the time of work to such an extent that Western man is free to enjoy hours of leisure to an extent his forefathers had hardly dreamed of.

Yet where are we today?

The world is divided into two camps, the capitalist and the communist camp. Both camps believe that they have the key to the fulfillment of the human hopes of generations past; both maintain that, while they must coexist, their systems are incompatible.

Are they right? Are they not both in the process of converging into a new industrial neo-feudalism, into industrial societies, led and manipulated by big, powerful bureaucracies, societies in which the individual



becomes a well-fed and well-entertained automaton, who loses his individuality, his independence and his humanity? Have we to resign ourselves to the fact that we can master nature and produce goods in an ever-increasing degree, but that we must give up the hope for a new world of solidarity and justice; that this ideal will be lost in an empty technological concept of "progress"?

We ask, is there no other alternative than that between capitalist and communist managerial industrialism? Can we not build an industrial society in which the individual retains his role as an active, responsible member who controls circumstances, rather than being controlled by them? Are economic wealth and human fulfillment really incompatible?

Furthermore, these two camps not only compete economically and politically, they are both set against each other in deadly fear of an atomic attack, which will wipe out both—if not all civilization. Indeed, man has created the atomic bomb; it is the result of one of his greatest intellectual achievements. But he has lost the mastery over his own creation. The bomb has become his master, the forces of his own creation have become his most dangerous enemy.

Is there still time to reverse this course? Can we succeed in changing it and becoming the masters of circumstances, rather than allowing circumstances to rule us? Can we overcome the deep-seated roots of barbarism which make us try to solve problems in the only way in which they can never be solved—by force, violence and killing? Can we close the gap between our great intellectual achievement and our emotional and moral backwardness?

## II.

### WESTERN MAN'S POSITION

**I**N ORDER TO ANSWER these questions, a more detailed examination of Western man's present position is necessary.

To most Americans the case for the success of our mode of industrial organization seems to be clear and overwhelming. New productive forces, (steam, electricity, oil and atomic energy) and new forms of organization of work (central planning, bureaucratization, increased division of labor, automation, etc.,) have created a material wealth in the most advanced industrial countries which has done away with the extreme poverty in which the majority of their populations lived a hundred years ago.

Working hours have been reduced from 70 to 40 hours per week in the last hundred years, and with increasing automation an ever-shorter working day may give man an undreamed-of amount of leisure. Basic

education has been brought to every child; higher education to a considerable percentage of the total population. Movies, radio, television, sports, hobbies, fill out the many hours which man now has for his leisure.

Indeed, it seems that for the first time in history the vast majority—and soon all men—in the Western world will be primarily concerned with living, rather than with the struggle to secure the material conditions for living. It seems that the fondest dreams of our forefathers are close to their realization, and that the Western world has found the answer to the question of what is the "good life."

While the majority of men in North America and Western Europe still share this outlook, there are an increasing number of thoughtful and sensitive persons who see the flaws in this enticing picture. They notice, first of all, that even within the richest country in the world, the U.S.A., about one-fifth of the population does not share in the "good life" of the majority, that a considerable number of our fellow citizens have not reached the material standard of living which is the basis for a dignified human existence. They are aware, furthermore, that more than two-thirds of the human race, those who for centuries were the object of Western colonialism, have a standard of living from ten to twenty times lower than ours, and have a life expectancy half that of the average American.

They are struck by the irrational contradictions which beset our system. While there are millions in our own midst, and hundreds of millions abroad, who do not have enough to eat, we restrict agricultural production and, in addition, spend hundreds of millions each year in storing our surplus. We have affluence, but we do not have amenity. We are wealthier, but we have less freedom. We consume more, but we are emptier. We have more atomic weapons, but we are more defenseless. We have more education, but we have less critical judgment and convictions. We have more religion, but we become more materialistic. We speak of the American tradition which, in fact, is the spiritual tradition of radical humanism, and we call "un-American" those who want to apply the tradition to present-day society.

However, even if we comfort ourselves, as many do, with the assumption that it is only a matter of a few generations until the West and eventually the whole world will have reached *economic* affluence, the question arises: *What has become of man, and where is he going if we continue on the road our industrial system has taken?*



## III.

## THE HUMAN PROBLEM

**I**N ORDER TO UNDERSTAND how those elements by which our system succeeded in solving some of its *economic* problems are leading to an increasing failure to solve the *human* problem, it is necessary to examine the features which are characteristic of 20th century capitalism.

Concentration of capital led to the formation of giant enterprises, managed by hierarchically organized bureaucracies. Large agglomerations of workers work together, part of a vast organized production machine which, in order to run at all, must run smoothly, without friction, without interruption. The individual worker and clerk become a cog in this machine; their function and activities are determined by the whole structure of the organization in which they work. In the large enterprises, legal ownership of the means of production has become separated from the management and has lost importance. The big enterprises are run by bureaucratic management, which does not own the enterprise legally, but socially. These managers do not have the qualities of the old owner—individual initiative, daring, risk-taking—but the qualities of the bureaucrat: lack of individuality, impersonality, caution, lack of imagination; they administer *things and persons*, and relate to persons as to things. This managerial class, while it does not own the enterprise legally, controls it factually; it is responsible (in an effective way) neither to the stockholders nor to those who work in the enterprise. In fact, while the most important fields of production are in the hands of the large corporations, these corporations are practically ruled by their top employees. The giant corporations which control the economic—and to a large degree the political—destiny of the country, constitute the very opposite of the democratic process; *they represent power without control by those submitted to it.*

Aside from the industrial bureaucracy, the vast majority of the population is administered by still other bureaucracies. First of all, by the governmental bureaucracy (including that of the armed forces), which influences and directs the lives of many millions in one form or another. More and more, the industrial, military and governmental bureaucracies are becoming intertwined, both in their activities and, increasingly, in their personnel. With the development of ever greater enterprises, unions also have developed into big bureaucratic machines in which the individual member has very little to say. Many union chiefs are managerial bureaucrats, just as industrial chiefs are.

All these bureaucracies have no plan, and no vision; and due

to the very nature of bureaucratic administration, this has to be so. When man is transformed into a thing, and managed like a thing, his managers themselves become things; and things have no will, no vision, no plan.

With the bureaucratic management of people, the democratic process becomes transformed into a ritual. Whether it is a stockholders meeting of a big enterprise, or a political election, or a union meeting, the individual has lost almost all influence to determine decisions and to participate actively in the making of decisions. Especially in the political sphere, elections become more and more reduced to plebiscites in which the individual can express preference for one of two slates of professional politicians, and the best that can be said is that he is governed with his consent. But the means to bring about this consent are those of suggestion and manipulation and, with all that, the most fundamental decisions—those of foreign policy which involve peace and war—are made by small groups which the average citizen hardly even knows.

The political ideas of democracy, as the founding fathers of the United States conceived them, were not purely political ideas. They were rooted in the spiritual tradition which came to us from prophetic Messianism, the gospels, humanism, and from the enlightenment philosophers of the 18th Century. All these ideas and movements were centered around one hope: that man, in the course of his history, can liberate himself from poverty, ignorance, and injustice, and that he can build a society of harmony, peace, of union between man and man, and between man and nature. The idea that history has a goal, and the faith in man's perfectability within the historical process has been the most specific element of Occidental thought. It is the soil in which the American tradition is rooted, and from which it draws its strength and vitality. What has happened to the ideas of the perfectability of man and of society? They have deteriorated into a flat concept of "progress," into a vision of the production of more and better *things*, rather than standing for the birth of the fully alive and productive *man*. Our political concepts have today lost their spiritual roots. They have become matters of expediency, judged by the criterion of whether they help us to a higher standard of living and to a more effective form of political administration. Having lost their roots in the hearts and longings of man, they have become empty shells, to be thrown away if expediency might warrant it.

Not only in the sphere of production is the individual managed and manipulated, but also in the sphere of consumption, which allegedly is the one in which the individual expresses his free choice. Whether it is the consumption of food, clothing, liquor, cigarettes, or of movies



and television programs, a powerful suggestion apparatus is employed with two purposes: first, to increase constantly the individual's appetite for new commodities, and second, to direct these appetites into the channels most profitable for industry. The very size of the capital investment in the consumer goods industry and the competition between a few giant enterprises make it necessary not to leave consumption to chance, nor to leave the consumer a free choice of whether he wants to buy more, and what he wants to buy. His appetites have to be constantly whetted, tastes have to be manipulated, managed, and made predictable. Man is transformed into the "consumer," the eternal suckling, whose one wish is to consume more and "better" things.

While our economic system has enriched man materially, it has impoverished him humanly. Notwithstanding all propaganda and slogans about the Western world's faith in God, its idealism, its spiritual concern, our system has created a materialistic culture and a materialistic man. During his working hours, the individual is managed as part of a production team. During his hours of leisure time he is managed and manipulated to be the perfect consumer, who likes what he is told to like, and yet has the illusion that he follows his own tastes. All the time he is hammered at by slogans, by suggestions, by voices of unreality which deprive him of the last bit of realism he may still have. From childhood on, true convictions are discouraged. There is little critical thought, there is little real feeling, and hence only conformity with the rest can save the individual from an unbearable feeling of loneliness and lostness. The individual does not experience himself as the active bearer of his own powers and inner richness, but as an impoverished "thing," dependent on powers outside of himself into which he has projected his living substance. Man is alienated from himself, and bows down before the works of his own hands. He bows down before the things he produces, before the state, and the leaders of his own making. His own act becomes to him an alien power, standing over and against him, instead of being ruled by him. More than ever in history the consolidation of our own product to an objective force above us, outgrowing our control, defeating our expectations, annihilating our calculations, is one of the main factors determining our development. His products, his machines, the state have become the idols of modern man, and these idols represent his own life forces in alienated form.

Indeed, Marx was right in recognizing that "the place of all physical and mental senses has been taken by the self-alienation of all these senses, by the sense of having. Private property has made us so stupid and impotent that things become ours only if we *have* them, that is, if they exist for us as capital, and are owned by us, eaten by us, drunk

by us; that is, used by us. We are poor in spite of all our wealth because we *have* much, but we *are* little."

As a result, the average man feels insecure, lonely, depressed, and suffers from a lack of joy in the midst of plenty. Life does not make sense to him; he is dimly aware that the meaning of life cannot lie in being nothing but a "consumer..." He could not stand the joylessness and meaninglessness of life, were it not for the fact that the system offers him innumerable avenues of escape, ranging from television to tranquilizers, which permit him to forget that he is losing more and more all that is valuable in life. In spite of all slogans to the contrary, we are approaching quickly a society governed by bureaucrats who administer a mass-man, well fed, well taken care of, dehumanized, and depressed. We produce machines that are like men, and men who are like machines. That which was the greatest criticism of *socialism* fifty years ago—that it would lead to uniformity, bureaucratization, centralization and a soulless materialism—is a reality of today's *capitalism*. We talk freedom and democracy, yet an increasing number of people are afraid of the responsibility of freedom, and prefer the slavery of the well-fed robot; they have no faith in democracy and are happy to leave it to the political experts to make the decisions.

We have created a widespread system of communication by means of radio, television and newspapers. Yet people are misinformed and indoctrinated rather than informed about political and social reality. In fact, there is a degree of uniformity in our opinions and ideas which could be explained without difficulty if it were the result of political pressure and caused by fear. The fact is that all agree "voluntarily," in spite of the fact that our system rests exactly on the idea of the right to disagreement, and on the predilection for diversity of ideas.

Doubletalk has become the rule in the free enterprise countries, as well as among their opponents. The latter call dictatorship "people's democracies," the former call dictatorships "freedom-loving people" if they are political allies. Of the possibility of fifty million Americans being killed in an atomic attack, one speaks of the "hazards of war," and one talks of victory in a "showdown," when sane thinking makes it clear that there can be no victory for anyone in an atomic holocaust.

Education, from primary to higher education, has reached a peak. Yet, while people get more education, they have less reason, judgment, and conviction. At best their intelligence is improved, but their reason—that it, their capacity to penetrate through the surface and to understand the underlying forces in individual and social life—is impoverished more and more. Thinking is increasingly split from feeling, and the very fact that people tolerate the threat of an atomic war hovering



over all mankind, shows that modern man has come to a point where his sanity must be questioned.

Man, instead of being the master of the machines he has built, has become their servant. But man is not made to be a thing, and with all the satisfactions of consumption, the life forces in man cannot be held in abeyance continuously. We have only one choice, and that is mastering the machine again, making production into a means and not an end, using it for the unfolding of man—or else the suppressed life energies will manifest themselves in chaotic and destructive forms. Man will want to destroy life rather than die of boredom.

Can we make our mode of social and economic organization responsible for this state of man? As was indicated above, our industrial system, its way of production and consumption, the relations between human beings which it fosters, creates precisely the human situation which has been described. Not because it *wants* to create it, not due to evil intentions of individuals, but because of the fact that the average man's character is formed by the practice of life which is provided by the structure of society.

No doubt the form which capitalism has taken in the 20th century is very different from what it was in the 19th century—so different, in fact, that it is doubtful whether even the same term should be applied to both systems. The enormous concentration of capital in giant enterprises, the increasing separation of management from ownership, the existence of powerful trade unions, state subsidies for agriculture and for some parts of industry, the elements of the "welfare state," elements of price control and a directed market, and many more features, distinguish 20th-century capitalism radically from that of the past. Yet whatever terminology we choose, certain basic elements are common to the old and the new capitalism. The principle that not solidarity and love, but individualistic, egotistical action brings the best results for everybody; the belief that an impersonal mechanism, the market, should regulate the life of society, not the will, vision and planning of the people. Capitalism puts things (capital) higher than life (labor). Power follows from possession, not from activity. Contemporary capitalism creates additional obstacles for the unfolding of man. It needs smoothly working teams of workers, clerks, engineers, consumers; it needs them because big enterprises, led by bureaucracies, require this kind of organization and the "organization man" who fits into it. Our system must create men who fit its needs; it must create men who cooperate smoothly and in large numbers; who want to consume more and more; whose tastes are standardized and can be easily anticipated and influenced. It needs men who feel free and independent, not subject to any authority or principle of conscience, yet who are willing to be commanded, to do

what is expected of them, to fit into the social machine without friction; who can be guided without force, led without leaders, prompted without aim—except the one to make good, to be on the move, to go ahead. Production is guided by a principle that capital investment must bring profit, rather than by the principle that the real needs of people determine what is to be produced. Since everything, including radio, television, books, medicines, is subject to the profit principle, the people are manipulated into the kind of consumption which is often poisonous for the spirit, and sometimes also for the body.

The failure of our society to fulfill the human aspirations rooted in our spiritual traditions has immediate consequences for the two most burning practical issues of our time: that of peace and that of the equalization between the wealth of the West and the poverty of two-thirds of mankind.

The alienation of modern man with all its consequences makes it difficult for him to solve these problems. Because of the fact that he worships things, and has lost the reverence for life, his own and that of his fellow men, he is blind not only to moral principles, but also to rational thought in the interest of his survival. It is clear that atomic armament is likely to lead to universal destruction and, even if atomic war could be prevented, that it will lead to a climate of fear, suspicion, regimentation, which is exactly the climate in which freedom and democracy cannot live. It is clear that the economic gap between poor and rich nations will lead to violent explosions and dictatorships—yet nothing but the most half-hearted and hence futile attempts are suggested to solve these problems. Indeed, it seems that we are going to prove that the gods blind those whom they want to destroy.

#### IV.

#### THE AIM OF SOCIALISM

**T**HUS FAR GOES the record of capitalism. What is the record of socialism? What did it intend, and what did it achieve in those countries in which it had a chance of being realized?

Socialism in the 19th century, in the Marxian and in its many other forms, wanted to create the material basis for a dignified human existence for everybody. It wanted work to direct capital, rather than capital to direct work. For socialism, work and capital were not just two economic categories, but rather they represented two principles: capital, the principle of amassed things, of *having*; and work, that of life and of man's powers, of *being* and becoming. Socialists found that in capitalism things direct life; that *having* is superior to



being; that the past directs the present—and they wanted to reverse this relation. The aim of socialism was man's emancipation, his restoration to the unalienated, uncrippled individual who enters into a new, rich, spontaneous relationship with his fellow man and with nature. The aim of socialism was that man should throw away the chains which bind him, the fictions and unrealities, and transform himself into a being who can make creative use of his powers of feeling and of thinking. Socialism wanted man to become independent, that is, to stand on his own feet; and it believed that man can stand on his feet only if, as Marx said, "he owes his existence to himself, if he affirms his individuality as a total man in each of his relations to the world, seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling, thinkings, willing, loving—in short, if he affirms and expresses all organs of his individuality." The aim of socialism was the union between man and man, and between man and nature.

Quite in contrast to the frequently uttered cliché that Marx and other socialists taught that the desire for maximal material gain was the most fundamental human drive, these socialists believed that it is the very structure of capitalist society which makes material interest the deepest motive, and that socialism would permit non-material motives to assert themselves, and free man from his servitude to material interests. (It is a sad commentary on man's capacity for inconsistency that the same people who accuse socialism for its alleged "materialism," criticize it at the same time with the argument that only the "profit motive" can motivate man to do his best.)

The aim of socialism was individuality, not uniformity; liberation from economic bonds, not making material aims the main concern of life; the experience of full solidarity of all men, and not the manipulation and domination of one man by another. The principle of socialism was that each man is an end in himself, and must never be the means of another man. Socialism wanted to create a society in which each citizen actively and responsibly participated in all decisions, and in which he could participate because he was a man and not a thing, because he had convictions and not synthetic opinions.

For socialism not only is poverty a vice, but also wealth. Material poverty deprives man of the basis for a humanly rich life. Material wealth, like power, corrupts man. It destroys the sense of proportion and of the limitations which are inherent in human existence; it creates an unrealistic and almost crazy sense of the "uniqueness" of an individual, making him feel that he is not subject to the same basic conditions of existence as his fellow men. Socialism wants material comfort to be used for the true aims of living; it rejects individual wealth as a danger to society as well as to the individual. In fact,

its opposition to capitalism is related to this very principle. By its very logic, capitalism aims at an ever-increasing material wealth, while socialism aims at an ever-increasing human productivity, aliveness and happiness, and at material comfort only to the extent to which it is conducive to its human aims.

Socialism hoped for the eventual abolition of the state, so that only things, and not people, would be administered. It aimed at a classless society in which freedom and initiative would be restored to the individual. Socialism, in the 19th century, and until the beginning of the First World War, was the most significant humanistic and spiritual movement in Europe and America.

What happened to socialism?

It succumbed to the spirit of capitalism which it had wanted to replace. Instead of understanding it as a movement for the liberation of man, many of its adherents and its enemies alike understood it as being exclusively a movement for the *economic* improvement of the working class. The humanistic aims of socialism were forgotten, or only paid lip service to while, as in capitalism, all the emphasis was laid on the aims of economic gain. Just as the ideals of democracy lost their spiritual roots, the idea of socialism lost its deepest root—the prophetic-messianic faith in peace, justice and the brotherhood of man.

Thus socialism became the vehicle for the workers to attain their place *within* the capitalistic structure rather than transcending it; instead of changing capitalism, socialism was absorbed by its spirit. The failure of the socialist movement became complete when in 1914 its leaders renounced international solidarity and chose the economic and military interests of their respective countries as against the ideas of internationalism and peace which had been their program.

The misinterpretation of socialism as a purely economic movement, and of nationalization of the means of production as its principal aim, occurred both in the right wing and in the left wing of the socialist movement. The reformist leaders of the socialist movement in Europe considered it as their primary aim to elevate the economic status of the worker within the capitalist system, and they considered as their most radical measures the nationalization of certain big industries. Only recently have many realized that the nationalization of an enterprise is in itself not the realization of socialism, that to be managed by a publicly appointed bureaucracy is not basically different for the worker from being managed by a privately appointed bureaucracy.

The leaders of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union interpreted socialism in the same purely economic way. But living in a country much less developed than Western Europe, and without a democratic



tradition, they applied terror and dictatorship to enforce the rapid accumulation of capital, which in Western Europe had occurred in the 19th century. They developed a new form of state capitalism which proved to be economically successful, and humanly destructive. They built a bureaucratically managed society in which class distinction—both in an economic sense and as far as the power to command others is concerned—is deeper and more rigid than in any of the capitalist societies of today. They define their system as socialistic because they have nationalized the whole economy, while in reality their system is the complete negation of all that socialism stands for, the affirmation of individuality and the full development of man. In order to win the support of the masses who had to make unendurable sacrifices for the sake of the fast accumulation of capital, they used socialistic, combined with nationalistic, ideologies and this gained them the grudging cooperation of the governed.

Thus far the free enterprise system is superior to the communist system because it has preserved one of the greatest achievements of modern man—political freedom—and with it a respect for the dignity and individuality of man, which links us with the fundamental spiritual tradition of humanism. It permits possibilities of criticism and of making proposals for constructive social change which are practically impossible in the Soviet police state. It is to be expected, however, that once the Soviet countries have achieved the same level of economic development that Western Europe and the United States have achieved—that is, once they can satisfy the demand for a comfortable life—they will not need terror, but will be able to use the same means of manipulation which are used in the West; suggestion and persuasion. This development will bring about the converges of 20th century capitalism and 20th century communism. Both systems are based on industrialization; their goal is over-increasing economic efficiency and wealth. They are societies run by a managerial class and by professional politicians. They both are thoroughly materialistic in their outlook, regardless of lip service to Christian ideology in the West and secular Messianism in the East. They organize the masses in a centralized system, in large factories, in political mass parties. In both systems, if they go on in the same way, the mass-man, the alienated man, a well fed, well clothed, well entertained automaton-man governed by bureaucrats who have as little a goal as the mass-man has, will replace the creative, thinking, feeling man. *Things* will have the first place, and man will be dead; he will *talk* of freedom and individuality—while he will *be* nothing.

Where do we stand today?

Capitalism and a vulgarized, distorted socialism have brought man to the point where he is in danger of becoming a dehumanized auto-

maton; he is losing his sanity and stands at the point of total self-destruction. Only full awareness of his situation and its dangers, and a new vision of a life which can realize the aims of human freedom, dignity, creativity, reason, justice and solidarity can save us from almost certain decay, loss of freedom, or destruction. We are not forced to choose between a managerial free enterprise system and a managerial communist system. There is a third solution, that of democratic, humanist socialism which, based on the original principles of socialism, offers the vision of a new, truly human society.

On the basis of this general analysis of capitalism, communism and humanist socialism, a socialist program must differentiate between three aspects:

What are the *principles* underlying the idea of a socialist party?

What are the *intermediate goals* of humanist socialism for the realization of which socialists work?

What are the immediate *short-range goals* for which socialists work, as intermediate goals have not yet been achieved?

## V.

### HUMANIST SOCIALISM

# A.

WHAT ARE THE PRINCIPLES which underlie the idea of a humanist socialism?

1) Every social and economic system is not only a specific system of relations *between things and institutions*, but a system of *human relations*. Any concept and practice of socialism must be examined in terms of the kind of relations between human beings to which it is conducive.

2) The supreme value in all social and economic arrangements is man; the goal of society is to offer the conditions for the full development of man's potentialities, his reason, his love, his creativity; all social arrangements must be conducive to overcoming the alienation and crippledness of man, and to enable him to achieve real freedom and individuality. The aim of socialism is an association in which the full development of each is the condition for the full development of all.

3) The supreme principle of socialism is that man takes precedence over things, life over property, and hence, work over capital; that power follows creation, and not possession; that man must not be governed by circumstances, but circumstances must be governed by man.

4) In relations between people, the principle must govern that



every man is an end in himself, and must never be made into a means to another man's ends. From this principle it follows that nobody must personally be subject to anyone because he owns capital.

5) Humanist socialism is rooted in the conviction of the unity of mankind and the solidarity of all men. It fights any kind of worship of state, nation or class. It considers that the supreme loyalty of man must be that to the human race, and to the moral principles of humanism. It strives for the revitalization of those ideas and values upon which Western civilization was built.

6) Humanistic socialism is radically opposed to war and violence in all and any forms. It considers any attempt to solve political and social problems by force and violence not only as futile, but as immoral and inhuman. Hence it is uncompromisingly opposed to any policy which tries to achieve security by armament. It considers peace to be not only the absence of war, but a positive principle of human relations based on free cooperation of all men for the common good.

7) From socialist principles it follows not only that each member of society feels responsible for his fellow citizens, but for all citizens of the world. The injustice which lets two-thirds of the human race live in abysmal poverty must be removed by an effort far beyond the ones hitherto made by wealthy nations to help the under-developed nations to arrive at a humanly satisfactory economic level.

8) Humanistic socialism stands for freedom. It stands for freedom from fear, want, oppression and violence. But freedom is not only from, but also freedom to; freedom to participate actively and responsibly in all decisions concerning the citizen, freedom to develop the individual's human potential to the fullest possible degree.

9) Production and consumption must be subordinated to the needs of man's development, not the reverse. As a consequence, all production must be directed by the principle of its social usefulness, and not by that of its material profit for some individuals or corporations. Hence if a choice has to be made between greater production on the one hand, or greater freedom and human growth on the other, the human as against the material value must be chosen.

10) In socialist industrialism the goal is not to achieve the highest economic productivity, but to achieve the highest human productivity. This means that the way in which man spends most of his energy, in work as well as in leisure, must be meaningful and interesting to him. It must stimulate and help to develop *all* his human powers—his intellectual as well as his emotional and artistic ones.

11) While, in order to live humanly, basic material needs must be satisfied, consumption must not be an aim in itself. All attempts to stimulate material needs artificially for the sake of profit must be pre-

vented. Waste of material resources and senseless consumption for consumption's sake are destructive to mature human development.

12) Humanist socialism is a system in which man governs capital, not capital man; in which, so far as it is possible, man governs his circumstances, not circumstances man; in which the members of society plan what they want to produce, rather than that their production follows the laws of the impersonal powers of the market and of capital with its inherent need for maximum profit.

13) Humanist socialism is the extension of the democratic process beyond the purely political realm, into the economic sphere; it is political *and* industrial democracy. It is the restoration of political democracy to its original meaning: the true participation of informed citizens in all decisions affecting them.

14) Extension of democracy into the economic sphere means democratic control of all economic activities by the participants (manual workers, engineers, administrators, etc.). Humanist socialism is not primarily concerned with legal ownership, but with social control of the large and powerful industries. Irresponsible control by bureaucratic management representing the profit interest of capital must be replaced by administration acting on behalf of, and controlled by, those who produce and consume.

15) The aim of humanist socialism can be attained only by the introduction of a maximum of decentralization compatible with a minimum of centralization necessary for the coordinated functioning of an industrial society. The functions of a centralized state must be reduced to a minimum, while the voluntary activity of freely cooperating citizens constitutes the central mechanism of social life.

16) While the basic *general* aims of humanist socialism are the same for all countries, each country must formulate its own *specific* aims in terms of its own traditional and present situation, and devise its own methods to achieve this aim. The mutual solidarity of socialist countries must exclude any attempt on the part of one country to impose its methods on another. In the same spirit, the writings of the fathers of socialist ideas must not be transformed into sacred scriptures, which are used by some to wield authority over others; the spirit common to them, however, must remain alive in the hearts of socialists, and guide their thinking.

17) Humanist socialism is the voluntary, logical outcome of the operation of human nature under rational conditions. It is the realization of democracy, which has its roots in the humanistic tradition of mankind, under the conditions of an industrial society. It is a social system which operates without force, neither physical force, nor that of hypnoid suggestions by which men are forced without being aware



of it. It can be achieved only by appealing to man's reason, and to his longing for a more human, meaningful and rich life. It is based on faith in man's ability to build a world which is truly human, in which the enrichment of life and the unfolding of the individual are the prime objects of society, while economics is reduced to its proper role as means to a humanly richer life.

### INTERMEDIATE GOALS OF HUMANIST SOCIALISM

**B.** IN DISCUSSING the goals of humanist socialism we must differentiate between the *final* socialist goal of a society based on the free cooperation of its citizens and the reduction of centralized state activity to a minimum, and the intermediate socialist goals before this final aim is reached. The transition from the present centralized state to a completely decentralized form of society cannot be made without a transitory period in which a certain amount of central planning and state intervention will be indispensable. But in order to avoid the dangers that central planning and state intervention may lead to, such as increased bureaucratization and weakening of individual integrity and initiative, it is necessary: a) that the state is brought under the efficient control of its citizens; b) that the social and political power of the big corporations is broken; c) that from the very beginning all forms of decentralized, voluntary associations in production, trade, and local social and cultural activities are promoted.

While it is not possible today to make concrete and detailed plans for the *final* socialist goals, it is possible to formulate in a tentative fashion the *intermediate* goals for a socialist society. But even as far as these intermediate goals are concerned it will take many years of study and experimentation to arrive at more definite and specific formulations, studies to which the best brains and hearts of the nation must be devoted.

I. Following the principle that social control and not legal ownership is the essential principle of socialism, its first goal is the transformation of all big enterprises in such a way that their administrators are appointed and fully controlled by all participants (workers, clerks, engineers, etc.), with the participation of trade union and consumer representatives. These groups constitute the highest authority for every big enterprise. They decide all basic questions of production, price, utilization of profits, etc. All participants share in the profit of the enterprise; they contribute also to the social and cultural needs of the whole society.

II. The autonomy of an enterprise is restricted by central planning to the extent to which it is necessary to make production serve its social ends.

III. Small enterprises should work on a cooperative basis, and they are to be encouraged by taxation and other means. Inasmuch as they do not work on a cooperative basis, the participants must share in the profits and control the administration on an equal basis with the owner.

IV. Certain industries which are of basic importance for the whole of society, such as oil, banking, television, radio, medical drugs, and transportation, must be nationalized, but the administration of these nationalized industries must follow the same principles of effective control by participants, unions and consumers.

V. In all fields in which there is a social need, but not an adequate existing production, society must finance enterprises which serve these needs.

VI. The individual must be protected from fear and the need to submit to anyone's coercion. In order to accomplish this aim, society must provide, free for everyone, the minimum necessities of material existence in food, housing and clothing. Anyone who has higher aspirations for material comforts will have to work for them, but the minimal necessities of life being guaranteed, no person can have power over anyone on the basis of direct or indirect material coercion.

VII. Socialism does not do away with individual property for use; neither does it require the complete leveling of income; income should be related to effort and skill; but differences in income should not create such different forms of material life that the life experience of one cannot be shared by, and thus remains alien to, another.

VIII. The principle of political democracy must be implemented in terms of the 20th century reality. Considering our technical instrumentalities of communication and tabulation, it is possible to reintroduce the principle of the town meeting into contemporary mass society. The forms in which this can be accomplished need study and experimentation. They may consist of the formation of hundreds of thousands of small face-to-face groups (organized along the principle of place of work or place of residence) which would constitute a new type of Lower House, sharing decision-making with a centrally elected parliament. Decentralization must strive at putting important decisions into the hands of the inhabitants of small local areas subject, however, to the fundamental principles which govern the life of the whole society. But whichever forms are to be found, the essential principle is that the democratic process is transformed into one in which well-informed and responsible citizens express their will, not automatized mass-men, controlled by the methods of hypnoid mass suggestion.

IX. Not only in the sphere of political decisions, but with regard to all decisions and arrangements, the grip of the bureaucracy must be



broken in order to restore freedom. Aside from decisions which filter down from above, activity in all spheres of life on the grass-roots level must be developed which can "filter up" from below to the top. Workers organized in unions, consumers organized in consumers' organizations, citizens organized in the above-mentioned face-to-face political units, must be in constant interchange with central authorities. This interchange must be such that new measures, laws, provisions, etc., can be suggested and, after voting, decided from the grass-roots, and that all elected representatives are subject to continuous critical appraisal and, if necessary, recall.

X. According to its basic principles, the aim of socialism is the abolition of national sovereignty, the abolition of any kind of armed forces, and the establishment of a commonwealth of nations.

XI. In the sphere of education, the main aims are those of helping to develop the critical powers of the individual and to provide a basis for the creative expression of his personality—in other words, to nurture free men who will be immune to manipulation and to the exploitation of their suggestibility for the pleasure and profit of others. Knowledge should not be a mere mass of information, but the rational means of understanding the underlying forces that determine material and human processes. Education should embrace not only reason but the arts. Capitalism, as it has produced alienation, has divorced and debased both man's scientific understanding and his aesthetic perception. The aim of socialist education is to restore man to the full and free exercise of both. It seeks to make man not only an intelligent spectator but a well-equipped participant not only in the production of material goods but in the enjoyment of life. To offset the dangers of alienated intellectualization, factual and theoretical instruction shall be supplemented by training in manual work and in the creative arts, combining the two also in craftsmanship (the production of useful objects of art), in primary and secondary education. Each adolescent must have had the experience of producing something valuable with his own hands and skills.

XII. The principle of irrational authority based on power and exploitation must be replaced, not by a laissez-faire attitude, but by an authority which is based on the competence of knowledge and skill—not on intimidation, force or suggestion. Socialist education must arrive at a new concept of rational authority which differs both from irrational authoritarianism and from an unprincipled laissez-faire attitude.

XIII. Education must not be restricted to childhood and adolescence, but the existing forms of adult education must be greatly enlarged. It is especially important to give each person the possibility of

changing his occupation or profession at any time of life; this will be economically possible if at least his minimal material needs are taken care of by society.

XIV. Cultural activities must not be restricted to providing intellectual education. All forms of artistic expression (through music, dance, drama, painting sculpture, architecture, etc.) are of paramount importance for the human development of man. Society must channel considerable means for the creation of a vast program of artistic activities and useful as well as beautiful building programs, even at the expense of other and less important consumer satisfactions. Great care should be taken, however, to conserve the integrity of the creative artist, to avoid turning socially responsible art into bureaucratic or "state" art. A healthy balance must be maintained between the legitimate claims of the artist upon society and its legitimate claims upon him. Socialism seeks to narrow the gap between the producer and the consumer in the realm of art and seeks ultimately to eliminate this distinction so far as possible by creating optimum conditions for the flourishing of every individual's creative potentialities. But it holds up no preconceived pattern and recognizes that this is a problem that will require much more study than has been given it up till now.

XV. Complete equality of races and sexes is a matter of course for a socialist society. This *equality*, however, does not imply *sameness*, and every effort must be made to permit the fullest development of the gifts and talents peculiar to each racial and national group, as well as to the two sexes.

XVI. Freedom of religious activities must be guaranteed, together with the complete separation of State and Church.

### SHORT-RANGE GOALS

C. THE FOREGOING PROGRAM is meant to serve as a guide to the principles and goals of socialism. Its concrete and detailed formulation requires a great deal of discussion. To conduct this discussion and to arrive at concrete and detailed suggestions is one of the main tasks of the Socialist Party. Such discussion requires examining all data which practical experience and the social sciences can bring forward. But first of all it requires imagination and the courage to see new possibilities, instead of the outworn routine of thinking.

Quite aside from this, it will take considerable time until the majority of the people in the United States will be convinced of the validity of socialist principles and goals. What is the task and function of the Socialist Party during the time before it has succeeded in this task?

a.) The Socialist Party—Social Democratic Federation (SP-SDF)



must embody in its own structure and activities the very principles it stands for; it must not only strive for the achievement of socialism in the future but must begin with its realization in its own midst immediately. Hence the SP-SDF must not try to convince the people of its program by appeal to irrational emotions, hypnoid suggestions, "attractive personalities," etc., but by the realism, correctness and penetration of its analysis of economic, social, political and human situations. The SP-SDF must become the moral and intellectual conscience of the United States, and divulge its analyses and judgments in the widest possible manner.

b.) The conduct of activities of the SP-SDF must follow its principles in the sense of the optimum of decentralization and the active, responsible participation of its members in discussions and decisions. It must also give full scope to the expression and divulgence of minority opinions. The socialist program cannot be a fixed plan, but must grow and develop through the continuous activity, effort, and concern of the members of the party.

c.) The SP-SDF thus must be different from other political parties—not only in its program and ideals, but in its very structure and in its way of functioning. It must become a spiritual and social home for all its members who are united in the spirit of humanistic realism and sanity, and by the solidarity of the common concern for, and the common faith in, man and his future.

d.) The SP-SDF must develop an extensive educational campaign among workers, students, professionals and members of all social classes who can be expected to have a potential understanding for socialist criticism and socialist ideals.

e.) The SP-SDF cannot expect to gain victory in a short time. But this does not mean that it should not aim at the widest social influence and power. It must strive to gain the allegiance of an ever-increasing number of people who, through the party, make their voices heard within the United States and throughout the whole world.

f.) The SP-SDF is rooted in the humanistic tradition of socialism; it strives for the transformation of the traditional socialist goals to fit the conditions of 20th century society as a condition for their realization. Particularly it rejects the ideas of achieving its goals by force or by the establishment of any kind of dictatorship. Its only weapons are the realism of its ideas, the fact that they appeal to the true needs of man, and the enthusiastic allegiance which those citizens will give it who have seen through the fictions and delusions which fill the minds of people today, and who have faith in a richer, fuller life.

g.) It is not enough that the members of the SP-SDF believe in a common ideal. Such faith becomes empty and sterile if it is

not translated into action. The life of the party must be organized in such a manner that it offers ample and varied possibility for every member to translate his concern into meaningful and immediate action. How can this be done?

1.) It must be understood clearly that the basic goals of socialism, especially the method of management of big enterprises by the participants, union and consumers' representatives, the revitalization of the democratic process, the guaranteed minimum for existence for every citizen, constitute problems the details of which are exceedingly difficult to solve. Their solution requires basic theoretical research in the fields of economics, work organization, psychology, etc.; and, in addition, practical plans and experimentation. If these social problems are approached in the same spirit of faith and imagination which exists among the natural scientists and technicians, solutions will be found which, looked at from the present situation, might appear as fantastic as space travel appeared twenty years ago. Yet the difficulties of arriving at a solution for a sane and human social organization are not any greater than those in the fields of the theoretical and applied natural sciences.

2. The first task, then, for the activities of the members of the SP-SDF is to study the problems of applied socialism within their own sphere of activity, and to discuss their experiences and suggestions for socialist solutions in the working units of the SP-SDF. Supplementing this group activity are permanent committees set up by the SP-SDF for the investigation of these problems. These committees will be composed of specialists in the various fields of economics, sociology, psychology, foreign policy, etc. The committees of investigation and the working units will be in close mutual contact, exchanging their ideas and experiences, and thus stimulating each other.

3. But the activities of the members of the SP-SDF must not be restricted to imaginative thinking and planning. Beyond this, immediate and concrete action is necessary. It is important that each member demonstrates the socialist way of life in his or her place of work, wherever it may be: in factories, offices, schools, laboratories, hospitals, etc. Each member must demonstrate the socialist way of approaching problems by his own way of dealing with them and by stimulating others. It is especially important that the members of the SP-SDF who are union members work actively for greater member activity and participation in the life of the trade unions. Inside and outside the trade unions, the members of the SP-SDF will support all tendencies for decentralization, active grass-roots participation, and fight all forms of bureaucracy.

4. The SP-SDF wants to attract men and women who are genuinely



concerned with the problem of the humanization of society and who, out of this concern, work for it and are willing to make the sacrifice in time and money which this work requires.

h.) Although the SP-SDF has its center in the fundamental goals of its programs, it will participate actively in the furtherance of all immediate political aims which are of importance for the progressive development of our society. It will cooperate with all political groupings and individuals that sincerely strive for the same aims. Among these aims are, in particular:

(1) A sane foreign policy, based on a realistic appreciation of the given facts of political life—a policy which seeks for reasonable compromise and realizes that war can be averted only if the two power blocs accept their present economic and political positions and renounce every attempt to change them by force.

(2) Fight against the idea that our security can be gained by armaments. The only way to avoid total destruction lies in total disarmament. This implies that disarmament negotiations must not be used to prevent real disarmament, but that we must be willing to take risks in the attempt to achieve it.

(3) A program of economic aid to underdeveloped countries on an immensely larger scale than our present one, and at the cost of considerable sacrifice on the part of our citizens for the accomplishment of such a program. We advocate a policy which does not serve the interests of American capital investments in foreign countries and does not involve United States foreign policy in indirect interference with the independence of small nations.

(4) Strengthening of the United Nations and of all efforts to use its assistance in the solving of international disputes and in large-scale foreign aid.

(5) Support of all measures to raise the standard of living of that part of our population which is still living below the material standard of the majority. This applies to poverty caused by economic as well as by regional and racial factors.

(6) Support of all efforts for decentralization and grass-roots activities. This implies support of all attempts to curb irresponsible power in corporative, governmental and union bureaucracy.

(7) Support of all measures for social security which lead to immediate relief in distress situations caused by unemployment, sickness and old age. Support of all measures in the direction of socialized medicine, with the understanding that the free choice of doctors and a high level of medical services must be upheld.

(8) Economic measures which lead to the full use of our agricultural productive capacity and our surplus—nationally and internationally.

(9) Support of measures to set up an economic commission consisting of representatives of industry, commerce, trade unions, economists and consumer representatives. This commission should be charged with understaking a regular examination of the needs of our economy, and developing overall plans for changes in the interest of the nation as a whole. Its most immediate task would be to discuss and propose plans for the change from armaments to peace production. The reports of this commission—including minority reports—should be published and distributed widely. Similar commissions should be convoked in the field of foreign policy, culture and education; the members of these commissions should represent wide sectors of the population, and consist of men whose knowledge and integrity are generally recognized.

(10) Vast governmental expenditures for housing, road building and hospital construction, and for cultural activities (music, theater, dance, art).

(11) Given the wealth of the United States, we can begin to experiment socially. State-owned enterprises must be organized in which various forms of workers' participation in management are tried out.

(12) In industries of basic social importance, the government must organize yardstick enterprises, which compete with private industry and in this way force it to raise its standards. This must be done first of all in the field of radio, television and movies, and in other fields if desirable.

(13) Efforts must be made to begin with a program of workers' participation in the management of the big corporations. Twenty-five per cent of the votes on the decision-making boards should be given to workers and employees, freely elected in each enterprise.

(14) The influence of the unions must be strengthened, not only with regard to the problems of wages, but also with regard to their influence on problems of working conditions, etc. Simultaneously a process of democratization within the unions must be furthered with all energy.

(15) All attempts must be supported which aim at the restriction of hypnoid suggestion in commercial and political propaganda.

We are aware that the above-mentioned program refers mainly to industrialized countries like those of North America and Europe. For all other countries the program must vary according to their specific conditions. However, the general principles underlying this program, that of production for social use, the strengthening of an effective democratic process, industrially as well as politically, are valid for all countries.



## VI.

## THE SOCIALIST APPEAL

**W**E APPEAL TO EVERY citizen to feel his responsibility for his life, that of his children, and that of the whole human family. Man is on the verge of the most crucial choice he has ever made: whether to use his skill and brain to create a world which can be, even if not a paradise, yet a place for the fullest realization of man's potentialities, a world of joy and creativity, or a world which will destroy itself either with atomic bombs, or through boredom and emptiness.

Indeed, socialism differs from other party programs in that it has a vision, an ideal for a better, more human society than the present one. Socialism does not want only to improve this or that defect of capitalism; it wants to accomplish something which does not yet exist; it aims at a goal which transcends the given empirical social reality, yet which is based on a real potentiality. Socialists have a vision and say: This is what we want; this is what we strive for; it is not the absolute and the final form of life, but it is a much better, more human form of life. It is the realization of the ideals of humanism which have inspired the greatest achievements of Western and Eastern culture.

Many will say that people do not want ideals, that they do not want to go beyond the frame of reference in which they live. We socialists say that this is not true. On the contrary, people have a deep longing for something they can work for, and have faith in. Man's whole vitality depends on the fact that he transcends the routine part of his existence, that he strives for the fulfillment of a vision which is not impossible to realize—even though it has not yet been achieved. If he has no chance to strive for a rational, humanistic vision, he will eventually, worn out and depressed by the boredom of his life, fall prey to the irrational satanic visions of dictators and demagogues. It is exactly the weakness of contemporary society that it offers no ideals, that it demands no faith, that it has no vision—except that of more of the same. We socialists are not ashamed to confess that we have a deep faith in man and in a vision of a new, human form of society. We appeal to the faith, hope and imagination of our fellow citizens to join us in this vision, and in the attempt to realize it. Socialism is not only a socio-economic and political program; it is a human program: *the realization of the ideals of humanism under the conditions of an industrial society.*

*Socialism must be radical. To be radical is to go to the roots; and the root is Man. Today, Things are in the saddle and ride man. Socialism wants to put man, the total, creative, real man. back into the saddle.*

The International Brotherhood of  
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 upon this Labor Day

John P. Burke, President-Secretary  
 Fort Edward, New York

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Howe D. Higgins  
Old Rand School Class, 1913-14  
Southwest Harbor, Maine

For a sane society  
Ann Hubbell  
Ypsilanti, Mich.

In memory of Joseph Ario  
and John H. Meyer.  
Blanche H. Meyer  
Milwaukee, Ore.

Socialism the Hope of the World  
Robert G. Aulenbach  
Robesonia, Pa.

Greetings from Local Ann Arbor,  
Michigan. For Information, call Local  
Secretary, 341 E. Liberty, Phone No.  
5-5977.

In memory of my mother Luella S. Hal-  
vorsen. She always lived as a Socialist  
should.

Helga H. Halvorsen  
Miami, Fla.

Clarence and Ruth Senior  
New York, N.Y.

Vote Socialist—Hass & Cozzini  
Independent Comm., 203 W. Water St.,  
Urbana, Ohio

Greetings from  
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In Memory of Grace Ahlers  
San Francisco Local—SP-SDF

Antioch College-YPSL  
Yellow Springs, Ohio

John Paul Jones  
Ashfield, Mass.

Mrs. L. B. Syme  
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Carlsbad, N.M.

Walter O'Hagan  
Auburn, N.Y.

Fraternal Greetings from the  
Fabian Forum of Sacramento, Calif  
Mary Daniels, Sec'y.  
Sacramento, Calif.

Greetings to Socialists Everywhere  
Francis J. Harvey  
Wharton, N.J.

Otelie Lewiston  
Beloit, Wisc.

Louie & Katherine Bertin  
Des Moines, Iowa

Erma Arnstein  
San Francisco, Calif.

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Berkeley, Calif.  
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C. E. Robel  
Lewiston, Idaho

Greetings

To the comrades, whether Socialists or  
Socialist Democrats, I wish we could  
agree on one name, no matter which,  
and cut out the hyphen. That makes  
it look as though we were not really  
united.

Archie Craig  
Oxford, Pa.

Socialism—World Hope  
Hugo Bockewitz  
Long Beach, Calif.

Cuthbert Daniel  
New York, N.Y.

Jasper McLevy  
Bridgeport, Conn.

Charles Davis  
Baltimore, Md.

# SOCIALIST CALL

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Philadelphia, Pa.

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New York, N.Y.

LeRoy Bowman  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Sam White  
Kansas City, Mo.

W. B. Jordan  
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Woodstown, N.J.

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Allentown, Pa.

Eugene V. Debs Branch 421  
Workmen's Circle  
Paterson, N.J.

V. Obermaster  
Paterson, N.J.

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San Francisco, Calif.

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Long Lake, Minn.  
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Nat Hillson  
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David Rinne  
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NORTHEAST DEPARTMENT, ILGWU  
David Gingold, Director  
EASTERN OUT OF TOWN DEPARTMENT, ILGWU  
Edward Kramer, General Manager

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